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A cute little Indian child in a guayare.

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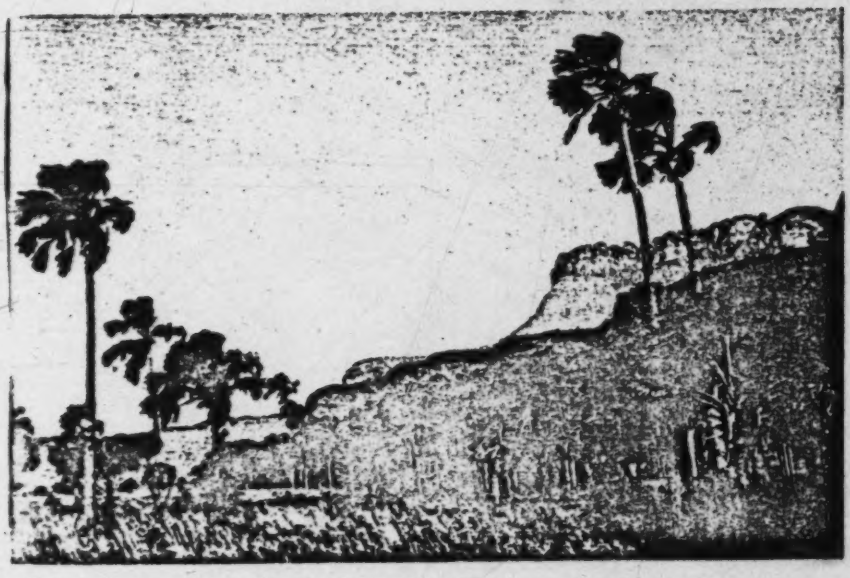

Central mountain ridges of the Gran Sabana, covered with a beautiful moriche palm grove.

Hunting

/82 cont./

224 and fishing equipment: bow and arrows, blowgun and quiver,
226 traps and nets, harpoon and hook. Poisons for the same: curare
278 and several kinds of Verbascum. Culinary equipment: grater,
415 manioc strainer, a fine sieve, baking pan, small mats, ollas,
large wide-mouthed jars for catching rain, and mixing bowls.
342 Ranchos or temporary dwellings and houses of fixed location:
the former rectangular and the latter circular with conical
291 roofs. Items of clothing and adornment: loincloths, feminine
301 guayucos, moriche /palm/ sandals, wrist and ankle rings,
513 garters, foliage coverings /pampanillas/, halos, necklaces and
482 earrings; hammocks, bags, and straps for carrying children.
854 Their household items: small benches, pothooks, camazas
352 /large gourd dishes/, awls, guayares, and an infinity of baskets.
412 Their instruments of navigation: paddle and pole, balsas and
415 canoes made from tree trunks or with their bark /concha/ only.
501 Their textiles: with the spindle, fibers twisted upon the thigh,
283 other braided fibers and small weavings done on rudimentary
286 looms. Their musical instruments: timbrels, whistles /pipes/,
534 flutes, war trumpets /botutos/, and drums. Their agricultural
241 cultivations: yucca, plantains, maize, cane, ají, auyama
/gourd plant/, cotton, tobacco, and various sorts of tubers.
252 The preparation of foodstuffs: boiled and roasted food, cassava
262 and mañoco /maize flour/ ground in a mortar, guarapos /sugar-
273 cane juice/ and purées, fermented and nonfermented. Etc., etc.

177 179. It should be made clear that these Indians for many
439 generations have, through other neighboring intermediary tribes,
[411] been obtaining some instruments of our European civilization:
[412] knives, machetes, chícoras, axes, fishhooks, firearms, files,
[301] mirrors, glass beads, cloth for loincloths /guayucos/. But
[291] they still remember a time when they used to make their loin-
287 cloths and straps for carrying children from the bark of special
314 trees; when they made their fishhooks with thorns from plants
411 or barbs from fish; when they made their arrows with tips of
412 bone, wood, or a special cane; when they used dextrales (stone

*192 *197 824 285

189. *Split reeds for basketry (the commonest sort, in local Spanish "tirita") — manare. Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) mana:le (= mana:re). Makuchi (Williams) ma-na-ri, "cassava sifter" (called pangaí' in Kamarakoto and panga' in Taurepán); ma-na "reed used for basket work." In Makuchi (and many other Carib dialects) the form with -ri or -re designates a particular one of the many sorts of basketry made from these reeds and the word has been taken over into Venezuelan Spanish, "manare," with this meaning. In Kamarakoto and Taurepán, however, the word in this form means the reed itself, never one of the things made from it, which all have quite different names. This reed is a (or some) species of Ischnosiphon.

190. *Split vine for basketry (less often used, in local Spanish "camuare") — wadapi. Makuchi (Williams) wa-tha-be (th as in English "thin"), "liana....used for winding round rolls of tobacco." This is actually a palm, Desmoncus sp.

*192 *197 824 283 285

191. *A strong fiber (in local Spanish "curagua") — kurawai'. Makuchi (Williams) ka-rau-ya. These fibers are obtained from the leaves of species of Bromelia and are widely used in Venezuela where the Spanish name is derived from the Carib word.

192. Round, tough vine (in local Spanish, "bejuco de alambrito," i.e. "wire-vine") — tsimo'. Compare tsimui'. No. 99, a basket made of this fiber.

193. Palm-fiber (from the moriche palm) — kutsa' -epicha'. (Palm leaves, as opposed to fiber, are also used to make baskets but are called simply "moriche leaves," etc.; see "Plants.")

*192 *197 ● 352

g. Furniture, utensils, etc.

194. *Hammock — kami (but ukaimi, "my hammock"). Taurepán (Koch-Grünberg) kami (but u-ka:limi, "my hammock").

195. Hanger for hammock ("colgadero") — gtseba.

196. *Bench — aponoi'. Taurepán, apono, ponoi'.[53] Makuchi (Williams) a-po-no. Krishana (Adam) (i-)apon. Galibi (Adam) abo.

*192 283 412

197. Hanging cradle — paka:ri.

198. Spindle — kateuwai-yeupu (literally "cotton-bone").

199. Nail, hooked on end for crocheting — peoi-gatsa'. gatsa' probably means "bent" or "twisted" and peoi is "nail." In most Carib dialects "nail" is called by some variant or reduced form of putuputuri which also occurs in Arawak (See de Goeje No. 67), but note Purukotó (de Goeje) puia.

53 [see footnote on p 312, category 11b - Analyst]

almost invariably contains the cane press and frequently also serves for the preparation of casave and for cooking, although both these may also be done in the dwelling. Frequently hammocks are hung here for resting on hot days or for visitors,[105] although the family sleeps in the closed dwelling. It is often assumed that structures of this sort are essentially non-Carib simply because they are square, but this conclusion seems to me also to be ill-supported, if not absolutely false. A square dwelling is not typically Carib, but a square shelter is. The simplest type of shelter thrown up quickly against sun or rain, by hunters, for instance, is invariably square and the square work-house is simply a more permanent form of such a shelter. In any event, such work-houses are typically Kamarakoto now and are made by other tribes with still less European influence. These structures are called wata, or, if the absence of walls needs to be specified, wata-imedapun.

The Kamarakotos also build rectangular houses with walls, wata-timeakɛn, and these really are, I believe, a recent development showing some non-Carib influence. Even the name ordinarily applied to them, kalabɔzo, = "calabozo," is foreign. They have one door and are almost hermetically sealed with mud, including a horizontal mud ceiling below the ridged roof (see Figure 10). Unless needed to accommodate visitors, they are used only in the rainy season when insects are very bad, when the family retires to the structure at night and seals itself in, emerging almost asphyxiated the next day, a custom that doubtless contributes to the prevalence of respiratory diseases.

Construction and Materials.

The framework of any building is made of unsquared timbers of any size. Any sort of strong wood is used for this, "purguo," purwei-dyɛ' being preferred for the heavier beams. Uprights are sunk in holes in the ground and the rest of the frame is fastened together and to these by lashing with lianas. Occasionally a fork is used or a notch cut, but usually the poles are round and simple. Details of typical construction of this sort are shown in the accompanying illustrations of a wata-imedapun, work-house, (Figs. 2-5),[1] and of a parapan, dwelling, (Figs. 6-8).[2]

Roofs are heavily thatched with palm leaves, kunwada-yarɛ, Oenocarpus leaves, being preferred, maripada-yarɛ, Maximiliana leaves, also common, and gwaiyarɛ, Mauritia leaves, occasionally used.[106] The walls are often thatched also, usually with maripada-yarɛ. The walls of a "calabozo" are always and those of a parapan are occasionally made of withes and mud, a type of construction common in Venezuela and called "bahareque" in colloquial Venezuelan Spanish, (the Kamarakotos call it simply non, "mud"). This type of construction is probably less common or typical among Caribs than is wall thatching, but it occurs, and has long occurred, among virtually all the tribes

105, 106 [see footnotes on p. 319, category 116 – Analyst]
1 [see pp. 115, 117, 118, 119a, in category 116 – Analyst]
2 [see pp. 121a, 121b, 122, in category 116; note that Fig. 6 is on p. 122 – Analyst]

415 177 The several recent expeditions have provided the Indians with a considerable supply of enameled pots and plates, glass bottles and large tin cans, as well as a few table knives, forks, and spoons. The supply is not yet by any means sufficient to replace the native objects and as far as I could learn they were not articles of trade before these expeditions brought them in. Enamelware pots, which substitute for the breakable native earthenware of difficult manufacture, are eagerly sought, but the other European objects in this category are not much valued and some acquired from a previous party had already been discarded in favor of native ware. Even empty gasoline cans, which are almost priceless among many primitive people, did not seem to be especially valued. With the single exception noted, their own articles are actually better for their uses to the Kamarakotos and will not be replaced unless their mode of life changes completely.

Furniture.

● 352 [322] The only furniture, even speaking broadly, consists of benches, hammocks, and cradles. The native bench, aponoi?, is hewn from a block of wood, usually leaving four legs at the corners, not inserted but cut from the same block as the seat (see Fig. 30). These are always very low, generally only 5-10 cm. in height, as the Indians find higher seats uncomfortable. There is a higher and more complex bench, murei, but this is used only by piaches (see "Magic and [576] Religion"). Away from home, and often also at home, the Indians sit on their haunches rather than on a bench or on the ground, but every house does have one or two benches. They do not sit down to rest, but lie or sit in a hammock. (See Roth, 1924, Fig. 81 and accompanying text, for interesting data on the evolution and variation of benches in this broad area.)

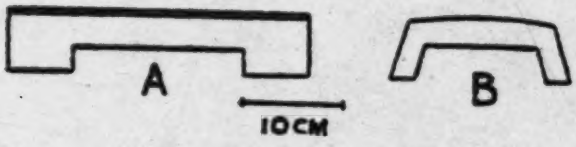

Fig. 30 — Kamarakoto Bench.
An aponoi?, hewn from a single block of wood.

[573] [582] As throughout tropical South America, all the Indians sleep in hammocks. Each individual has a hammock, kami, which he takes with him when traveling or visiting, and he never sleeps in any other way. The hammocks are made of

352 cotton twine and the mode of manufacture will be described below, under "Textiles."

352 854 Very small babies are sometimes placed in a cradle, pakaːri, which consists of a ring of wood (or a liana) suspended from a beam in the house by four cords. A band of cloth is fastened across the frame to hold the baby and above this a transverse stick is fastened to keep its weight from deforming the 353 ring. Similar rings, without the cloth or transverse stick, are sometimes used to hang up pots and similar objects and these are also called pakaːri.

Basket-ware.

285 The various baskets and the weaves used in them are described in more detail below under "Textiles." Here those that form part of the necessary or normal household equipment are listed and their functions given: 1/A

tangōiˀ — the casave press, described above. Fig. 64.

pangaiˀ — casave sieve. Fig. 56 A.

oːapa — a large circular, closely woven shallow tray used for drying and sunning various things (cotton, vegetables, etc.), for serving casave, and the like. Fig. 56 B.

matuːtu — a square tray, shallow but with a vertical rim, raised from the ground by four short legs. Uses similar to those of the oːapa. Figs. 57, 58.

o.olori — a single, flat, square mat, used to fan the fire and as a plate. Fig. 56 C.

waricha) these, more exactly distinguished under "Textiles," are
warakapi) small carrying and storage baskets, carried in the hand.
wapa) Figs. 59, 60.
sokoˀ)

amaːtu — relatively deep rectangular baskets with covers and two layers of weaving (often with leaves between). They are closely woven, sometimes waterproof, and are used for the storage of clothing and of all sorts of personal treasures, necklaces, earrings, and so on. Fig. 62.

[482] akaiˀ) These are variations of the woman's back-carrying basket or
koataiˀ) frame, designated according to the weave used. Figs. 65, 66.

wakawaˀ — A rougher and relatively uncommon type of heavy carrying basket. Fig. 55.

[477] ɛno-saramba — a small, deep basket with very open weave, sometimes used for carrying, like the waricha, etc., but particularly as a bird cage. The top is tied together in a straight line and a perch is thrust through the mesh from one side to the other.

1/A [For figures referred to in text, see pp. 185b, 190a-190c, 193a, and 197b-197c, category 06/16 - Analyst]

283 controlled and the fibers are individually longer, so that an almost microscopic strand of a few fibers or a heavy, up to 3 mm., single-twisted strand can be produced. Thus a stout 3-ply bowstring is made from three heavy initial strands, each about 2 mm. in diameter. The basic twisting in this manner is more often to the right, but both are common, and I believe that Kamarakoto hand-
[171] twining must be classified as mixed with right predominating. Frödin and Nordenskiöld have shown that right hand-twining is much more common than left and they classify the Arekunas (probably all Taurepánes in their sample) as right-twining, but with exceptional left-twining and they do show the Guiana coastal Indians as mixed in this respect. In fact, some Indians, including the Kamarakotos, make hand-twine by a technique that can twist it both ways from the middle, and in general the direction of twisting in hand-twisting is not as consistent or as clear a reflection of basic technique as for spinning.

In making some moriche twine, as for sandal fastenings, a curious and rapid technique is employed. The fibers are separated into two bundles and rolled up the thigh, both at once but so that they remain separate, producing two left-twisted strands. The hand then immediately runs down the thigh, twisting these two strands together into a right-twisted two-ply twine.

[829] While on the subject of twine, it should be remembered that strips of bark and vines of all kinds and sizes are often used like twine or rope. Thus tobacco will be tied into a strip of bark for curing, house frames are tied together with vines, etc. Aside from their uses in textiles, however, the spun and twisted twines are commonly used as string to tie loads, baskets, etc.

Textiles Made of Thread.

28 Textiles made of thread (or twine), which is highly flexible in all directions, naturally require different techniques and serve different purposes from those made of more rigid materials, such as those employed in basketry. The two are, however, related and show a tendency toward association in a single culture complex. This is especially true in cases, like that of the Kamarakotos, in which the basketry is plaited, twined, and woven — techniques also employed in thread textiles — rather than coiled — a technique that cannot be applied to thread textiles.

283 Cotton and bast threads have much the same properties, but they differ
286 enough that in any one tribe a given type of textile is almost invariably made
171 of one and not the other. Between different tribes there may, however, be re-
[352] placement of one by the other. Thus the Kamarakotos and most other Caribs make cotton hammocks but many Arawaks, who are in general less proficient
[462] in cotton techniques, make bast-thread hammocks.[142] There is also commonly an element of sexual division of labor in these differences. Among the Kamarakotos and various other tribes the spinning of cotton and the manufacture of

142 [see footnote on p. 323, category 116 — Analyst]

286 groups of strands run across the warp at intervals and plaited around the warp strands so as to hold them in place. It is thus a sort of plaited crosstie rather than a weft in the more usual sense of the word.

Each crosstie, bar, or group of weft strands to be plaited consists of four separate threads. To start, these are tied together at one end, leaving short ends projecting as a simple fringe. A front warp strand and one from the back are then taken together and two weft strands pass in front and two behind. The two back weft strands are then brought through to the front passing outside (to left and right of) the front weft strands, and then become the front strands for plaiting in the next pair of warp strands. This does not plait all four weft strands together but makes each crosstie essentially two separate plaitings, of two strands each, tied at the ends. It is, however, common, probably usual, to cross the pair of strands at each point where it goes through from front to back, which has the effect of plaiting all four together, so that, for instance, a weft strand that is at the far right behind the warp at one point will be at the far left in front at the third warp-group thereafter. (Fig. 38.) This is different from and superior to any of the crossties shown by Roth for British Guiana tribes. It is also used by the Taurepánes, for whom Roth shows only a very simple and relatively poor two-strand crosstie, which I did not see either among them or among the Kamarakotos. The crosstie that I have described is, however, probably that shown by Koch-Grünberg for the Taurepánes, although he does not describe it adequately and his figure is not clear beyond showing a four-strand tie.[143]

When a crosstie is completed its four strands are tied also at the lower end with a short fringe left. When all the crossties are done, the free end loops of the warp are plaited in groups and looped onto heavier strands which are all gathered into a single loop at the end into which the hanging-rope, "colgadero," is tied. (See Figs. 39-40.)

[171] 352 Although cruder hammocks are known, these simple hammocks are far inferior to the complicated and often beautiful vertical-warp hammocks made by some tribes, see, e.g., Roth's illustrations of British Guiana specimens, some of which, he says, have been articles of a thriving trade and sold for as much as $400.

286 171 The technique that Roth calls "frame looping" but for which loom-plaiting seems to me a more accurately descriptive term is one of the most peculiar characteristic and interesting achievements of the Indians of this region. It is known not only to the Kamarakotos but also to the Taurepánes (and so doubtless to the Arekumas as a whole), the Maquiritares (at least the Yekuaná tribe), the Akawais (at least the Patamona tribe), the Makuchis, and some neighboring Arawaks (at least the Wapishana and Atorai tribes), among all of whom it is carried on in essentially the same way. It is a regional culture element not distributed tribally or racially.

143 [see footnote on p. 324, category 116 - Analyst]

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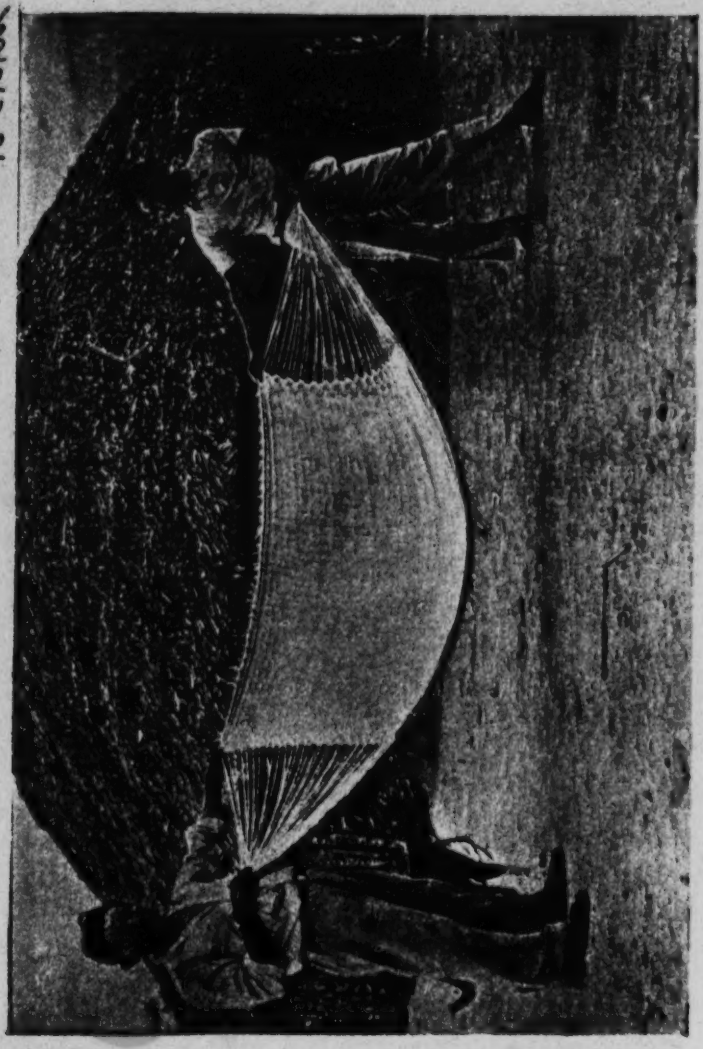

Fig. 39 — Kamarakoto Hammock.
Completed cotton hammock.

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Fig. 40 — Kamarakoto Hammock.
Detail of one end of hammock (in use) showing braiding and attachment of ends of looped warp strands.

5:Simpson N-5 (1939) 1940 SS16 Pemon SS16
Kamarakoto
167b

754 all, in human guise, are recognized as being supernatural beings and not really
776 human. Others are spirits that can materialise in almost any form, and still others are wholly invisible and formless supernatural beings or even represent a supernatural influence that is hardly thought of as possessing individuality or personality. Even these indefinite distinctions hardly seem to be very clear-
771 ly present in the Indian mind. In a broader sense, kanaima is the evil princi-
778 ple of the universe and its manifestations are endlessly protean and essentially indefinable, an idea approaching the Polynesian mana (see Karsten's discussion, which, however, does not include an explicit understanding of more specific aspects of Carib kanaima).

778 Anything unexpected, a noise, a light, a branch falling, an unusual bird,
781 a sudden shadow, may be greeted with the cry of "kanaima," a word that is
822 heard constantly on Indian lips, both jokingly and fearfully. In general anything that startles them and that is not immediately explicable by some normal and expected cause is kanaima, and this is obviously related to their real fear of being startled and to their efforts to avoid startling others.

778 Even this does not exhaust the aspects of kanaima, for it includes true
754 spirit-possession. Kanaima, or a kanaima, may enter the body of a victim and remain there, notably in the chest, causing fever and eventual death unless exorcized.

755 This spirit-possession is essentially related to the duties of the piache in averting the effects of kanaimaton, for medically his most important role is that of exorcist. Fortunately no case occurred during our stay, but the general
[276] procedure was reliably outlined to me by Indian eye-witnesses. The piache makes an infusion of green tobacco in water and muffs this until he is thoroughly "drunk." He then gives a great leap into the air and disappears. Informants have no idea where he goes, but this is always done inside a house at night with the fires low or extinguished, and one can assume that he somehow climbs in-
● [352] to the rafters. After a time he reappears and sits on his bench. This bench,
[532] called murei, is unlike the ordinary bench, aponoi?, being higher and carved into animal form (Fig. 76). He holds in his hands sticks and rolls of leaves and beats time on the ground with these while he sings.[174] Soon the piache is surrounded by a ring of light. My witnesses said that this was not visible to them but only to the piache, who presumably told them that it was there. Then the kanaima appears standing on the chest of his victim and is also visible only to the piache, who asks the kanaima to abandon his prey. The kanaima's reply is told to the sufferer and if it is affirmative recovery follows within two days. If it is negative, the patient inevitably dies.

754 The Kamarakotos believe that kanaimaton have now been fairly well cleared out around Kamarata by the piaches, but that some still invade the
[824] region and that they are still common in the Gran Sabana. The favorite haunts
[361] of kanaimaton, at least around Kamarata, are the forests and this is the

174 [see footnote on p. 328, category 116 - Analysis]

principal reason why Kamarakotos are very reluctant to build houses in the forests and hesitant about traversing them, although they do so not infrequently.

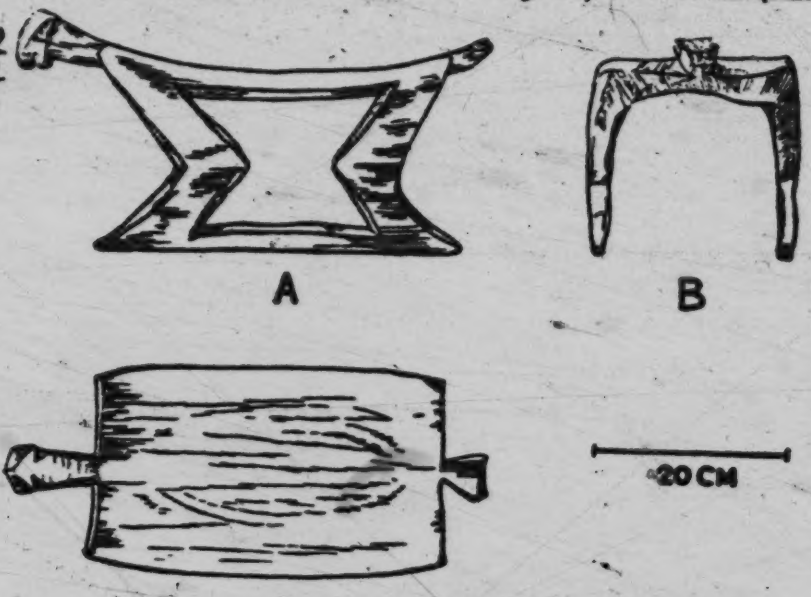

Fig. 76 — Kamarakoto Piache's Bench.
A typical murei, hewn from a single block of wood.

Although the kanaimaton play an important role as the theoretical instigators of physical diseases, it is also certain that belief in them produces serious and even mortal illnesses which are wholly psychic in origin. An Indian who is physically perfectly well sometimes believes that he has been attacked by a kanaima, lies down in his hammock, and refuses to rise or to eat, lapsing into a completely listless state, withdrawing into himself, paying no attention to his surroundings, and often developing a fever. If the kanaima is not successfully exorcized, the victim will die of this primarily psychic (but of course quite real) ailment just as surely as if it were primarily physical.

The following is not repeated as a story that I believe, for I find the alleged act of the priest quite incredible, but as one that the Kamarakotos believe and that casts a little further light on this difficult subject. They informed me that a mission priest stationed with a related tribe one day sent an Indian boy alone to an isolated conuco in the forest and then slipped around by another way and hid there. When the boy arrived, the priest shouted without showing himself. This was a mortal attack on the boy with the priest acting as kanaima

301 135. Although the Kamarakotos may have made shell beads, as some Caribs are known to have done. Probably, however, the Kamarakotos had no [177] suitable materials for these. In any case, seeds were also used and native beads, if they were known, have been completely replaced by the far better and sufficiently abundant foreign beads.

[184] 136. The only exception was a woman who had European earrings but she was married to one of the two men who have lived in Venezuelan towns and her wearing them was obviously not native.

304 184 302 137. I am sure that this statement is true in general, but in individual cases it was occasionally impossible to be sure whether a design was painted or tattooed.

000 138. We were interested to observe that some lower-class women in civilized Venezuela, with much Indian blood and definite Indian inheritance in their culture, apply rouge on the face exactly as the wild Indians apply red paint — in large splotches meant to look painted and artificial, and would not think of shading it so as to imitate a naturally bright complexion.

28 114 139. I do not mean that the textile work of Venezuelan Indians is unknown or has not been mentioned in various excellent studies, but that almost no careful description of its details, nomenclature, etc., have been published. Even Koch-Grünberg's voluminous studies only describe the various textile manufactures in a summary way, with practically no details as to types of weave, etc.

285 824 140. Speaking of traps woven from this material by the Adole Indians on the Orinoco, Roth says that they are made "from a kind of osier twig, which is ..... called bejuco," but "bejuco," of course, means only "vine" (of any sort, and, incidentally, does not include osiers).

000 141. The Carib word manare has also been taken over into colloquial Venezuelan, with the usual shift in accent, but is applied to the cassave sieve, which is made of manare but is not "a" manare in Carib. This is a common etymological phenomenon; compare, in a reverse direction, the adoption of the Spanish word "camisa" not for a shirt but for cotton cloth by some Caribs (not the Kamarakotos).

171 283 286 352 142. In view of this differentiation it is interesting that in civilized Venezuela the handmade hammock, "chinchorro," of the common people is made of bast-thread while the sometimes more aristocratic "hamaca," usually factory-made, is of cotton.

[539] [584] [583] marriage and the extravagant labors involved are obviously an exaggerated form of wife-purchase by personal service.

[825] 203. An "ancoreta," oimi in Kamarakoto.

[805] 204. Here and in many other places the expression of time in hours is from Antonio's Spanish and is his expression of equivalent but, of course, differently and more vaguely expressed times in the Indian version, as the Indians do not use the hour as a unit of time.

205. Another parenthetical comment with no actual bearing on the story at this point.

[342] 206. The difficulty is that the first step in building a house is to sink the uprights into the ground and this cannot be done in rock.

[342] 207. The specification of four posts seems to imply that a quadrangular shelter is intended.

[352] 208. murei. It is odd that the difficulty in the ensuing work is not the material, stone (never really used for benches), but the pattern. The stone-work of the termite is no more eccentric than the earlier stone-boring of a worm, but in the earlier case it was the stone that caused the difficulty.

[825] 209. muna'.

[825] 210. A kurĩnata.

[825] 211. An enwara', a spiny rock-lizard. Not as part of this story but as another legend, I was told that enwara' (then the personal name of this particular lizard and now the term for all lizards of this species) was turned into stone at the time of the earthquake (below) and this stone gives its name to Enwarapaimá-tepúi, south of Kamarata.

[824] 212. A "ceiba," asarɛ-yɛ'. The fall of this tree is another apparently wholly irrelevant detail, as is Maichak's refusal to jump.

213. pangai'. These are not normally used for fishing.

214. This was offered as an aside. The etymology is not worthy of serious consideration.